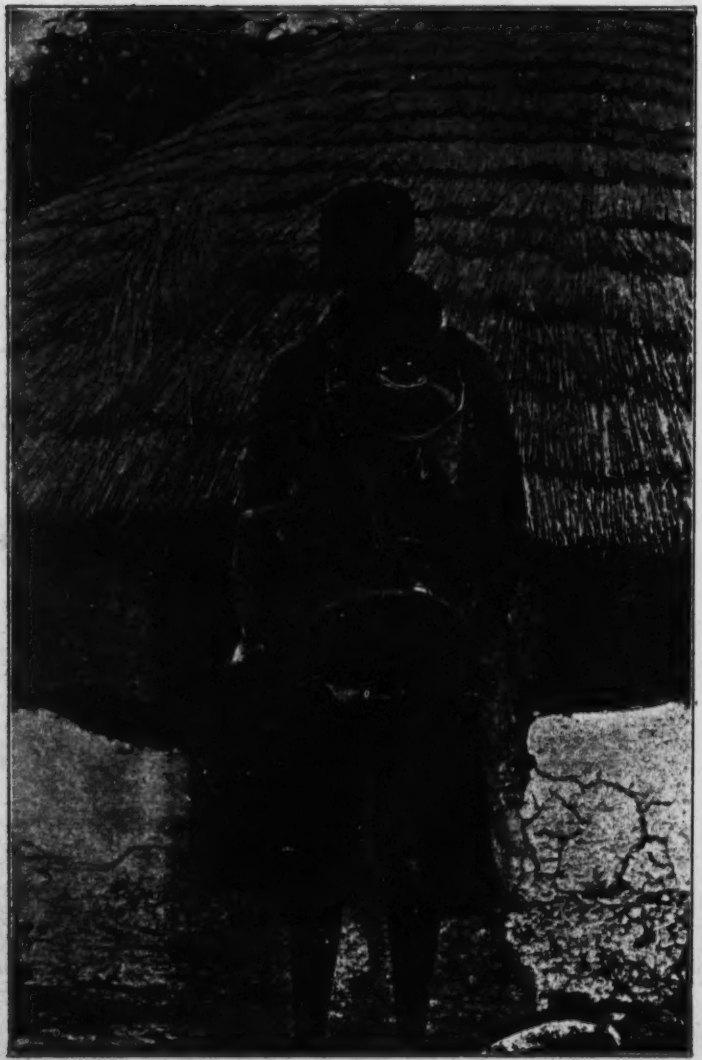
1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

PLATE 2

342
854
291
301



A KATAB WOMAN AND HER CHILD

[see p. 20]

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

291
954
142

142
291

PLATE 3

A KATAB MOTHER

AN OLD WOMAN

[*face p.* 39

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

PLATE 4

142
291
301

KATAB CHILDREN

[from p. 42

182
915
412

343

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

PLATE 5

THE KATAB HOE

A KATAB GRANARY

[face p. 43

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

PLATE 6

142
291
252
412
301

KATAB WOMEN POUNDING CORN

[facing p. 48

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

Teeth are not filed or chipped, and there is no piercing of the nasal septum. But women wear lip and ear ornaments. The lips are pierced with a needle at about the age of seven, and a lip plug is inserted, fashioned from the thorn of the *fasak-wari* tree. It is a cylindrical disc with a flange. The front of the disc is hollowed out and a bead inserted. The discs of grown-up women are about the size of a shilling. The ears are pierced at the age of five and rings of tin inserted. Men also wear earrings in the left ear, but among some families (e.g. the Bobai family of Fakan) earrings are taboo for some reason I was unable to discover.

Men and women both wear iron rings and girdles of brass wire of European manufacture. Bracelets of brass and iron are also worn by both sexes. Women and lads frequently, especially for dances, streak their faces with a black pigment obtained from the dried seeds of an acacia tree. Women also smear their bodies with red earth mixed with mahogany oil. The earth is obtained in a river bed and is reduced to a powder by being burned in a fire of dried cow's dung. The red earth may be a means of protecting the body from the actinic rays of the sun, but it appears also to have some religious significance, as warriors in former times were wont to streak with red earth their faces and also the heads of captured enemies.

All men of the Katab now wear small cloth loin-coverings, the flap passing through the legs from front to rear. But in former times the triangular loin-cloth covering was the rule. Important men also, nowadays, wear a cloth thrown round the body and over the left shoulder. Many, too, wear gowns. For priests the use of cloth is taboo. They wear a triangular loin-covering of leather and over the shoulders a cape of cob-skin, the skin of the animal's forelegs being sewn together to serve as fasteners. The inside of the skin is cured with acacia leaves, the use of wood ashes and paw-paw leaves being avoided in order that the outside hair may be left intact. This was the pristine clothing for all males, and it is noteworthy that even to this day, among the Kagoro, no one may enter a religious shrine wearing garments made of cloth. In wet weather men wear head and shoulder coverings of plaited grass. Girls go about nude until the age of five, and then, up to the age of ten, affect a small apron of cowry shells which jingle with every

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

movement. Later, and until puberty, they discard these in favour of a girdle of thin plaited grass which is tied round the waist, the loose ends being passed between the legs from front to back and made fast at the back by being passed underneath the girdle. Married women wear on the buttocks the peculiar circular plaited tray-like adornment, resembling an inverted mushroom, which is known as the *oyam*,[1] and is characteristic of the Katab, Kachichere, Kagoro, Ataka, Kaje, Jaba, and the Ikulu section of the Kadara tribe. It is kept in position by a string passed round the waist. It is frequently smeared with red oil, and the edges may be adorned with white beads. It would appear that the *oyam* has undergone considerable evolution in recent times, and that originally it consisted of the stalk only. A small tray was then superimposed, and this has grown during the last twenty years from a diameter of six inches to twelve or even eighteen inches. The reason assigned for this change of feminine fashions is that nowadays there is no war and women do not have to run away. In war time a large *oyam* would have been an encumbrance! It is certainly an encumbrance to-day, as it has to be pushed on one side on sitting down. The original *oyam* may have had some phallic significance, but is more probably an ornate development of the ordinary buttock-covering of grass or leaves, the primary object of which is to secure decency while bending at work in the fields. An apron of leaves may be worn underneath the *oyam*, and an apron of leaves is always worn over the pubes. The leaves are changed every day, and sometimes twice a day. Katab women after giving birth tie up the abdomen with strings of rolled palm leaves. The intention is to prevent distension of the abdomen, and the custom is therefore similar to that commonly followed in Europe to-day. At night a man sleeps in his loin-covering. Women and children sleep nude. The husband may cover himself and his wife with a cloth; but, as there is always a wood fire burning through the night and the houses are designed so as to afford complete protection from the weather, blankets are not required.

Tribal Marks.—The Katab, Kagoro, Morwa, Kaje, Ikulu, and Kamantam all affect the same design of tribal markings, which are approximately as follows:—

[1] Sometimes pronounced *oyum*.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

304
516

241
535

PLATE 7

TATTOOING

KATAB GIRLS AND YOUTHS DANCING

[*face p.* 55

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38

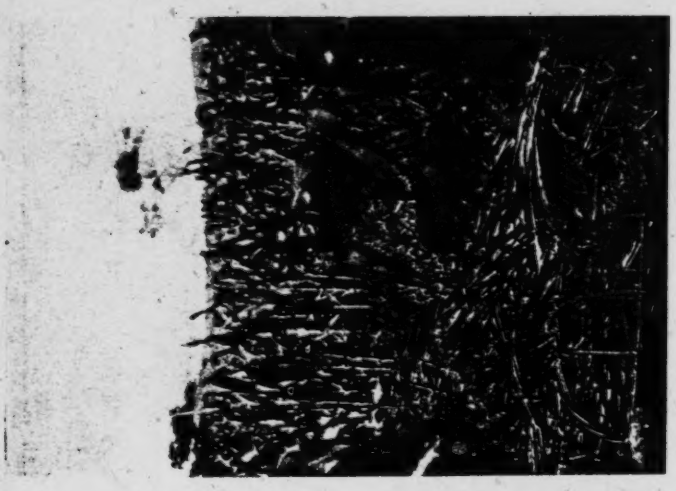
PLATE 8

●291
516

A TRIBAL COUNCIL

[face p. 81

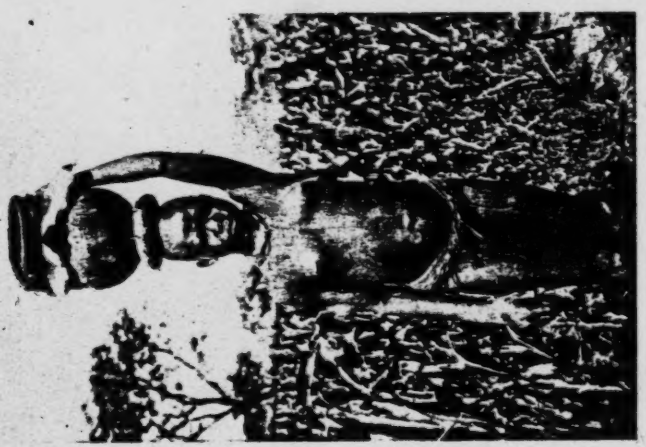
1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO



KAGORO WOMEN IN THE FIELDS

[See p. 93

291
516



A KAGORO GIRL

142
291
415
482

PLATE 10

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

[see p. 94
291
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KAGORO CHILDREN

291
301
304

KAGORO WOMAN

PLATE 11

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Kaiab FF38
Kaje

142
291

A KAJE MOTHER AND DAUGHTER

[see p. 103

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

PLATE 24

142
291

KAJE PRIEST

[from p. 205

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
FF38 Katab FF38
MORWA

one or more of his sons to a brother or half-brother who has no children of his own. This is considered a duty, and it is said to be good for the boy as he will be more strictly brought up by his paternal uncle than by his own father. In such cases the paternal uncle arranges the boy's marriage, and the boy is expected to look after his paternal uncle in his old age. His father has no further control over him. Occasionally a Morwa will send a son temporarily to his wife's family. But it is not the custom (as occasionally among the Hausa) to hand over a son to a friend who is not a close relative.

Clan emblems appear to be non-existent except among the Agbat, who respect the python. No one will eat leopard's flesh unless in conjunction with a protective medicine of pumpkin leaves. It is interesting to note that the skins of leopards have to be handed over to the Chawai chiefs, an indication that the Morwa are intruders into Chawai country.

The Morwa culture resembles that of the Katab. They wear the "tail" described in the Katab report, and it might have been added there that, according to Driberg, the Lango of Uganda formerly wore "a broad leathern tail covering both buttocks and studded with pieces of metal". Incidentally the same author records that unmarried girls among the Lango (and apparently also among the Bari) wear aprons of small metal chains. The Ganawuri, who are the immediate neighbours of the Morwa, have also this custom which appears to be unique in Nigeria.[1]

Religion.—As already stated the principal priestly family lives at Kisagwai near Manchok. The cult is principally animistic. A feast of All Souls is held annually, and twice a year (in October and March) the ghosts of the dead are heard crying in the sacred grove, a sign that the time has come when the rites should be performed. A bull-roarer is used to simulate the cries of the spirits, a custom which links the Morwa with the Semi-Bantu speaking groups. In the grove there is a sacred spring, and there the priest makes his offerings of beer, calling on the departed spirits to be patient and refrain from destroying the town. The lintel of the door of the priest's house at Kisagwai is decorated with a black cross. There is the same rule among the Morwa as among the Kagoro, that no one may enter a priest's hut or

[1] But it is found among the Tur of the British Cameroons.

Kaje, somewhat fewer with Kagoro.[3] (As will be seen, Birom and Irigwe especially show some evidence of other links with the Katab group.)

(ii) *Form of Dwelling*

According to Meek, a distinctive type of dwelling-house is built by all members of the Katab Group in Zaria, and by Kagoma; there is no information on Kaninkon. Meek adds that Jaba and Kagoma are the most expert builders, and suggests that the common use by Ataka and Kagoro of a more conventional type of dwelling (the round mud house, with conical thatched roof) may indicate that they have only recently adopted the style.

Meek gives detailed diagrams of the characteristic Katab house-type, which is spacious and oval in ground-plan (roughly 30 ft. by 18 ft., walls 3 to 4 ft. high); the roof does not rise to a peak at the centre, symmetrical from all angles, but slopes gently upwards to a point high above the rear of the house (away from the single small circular door), whence it falls away sharply. The interior is sub-divided into a number of compartments on the ground floor, which is a maze of cylindrical pillar-granaries entered only from the attic, and so built as to give support to the soaring roof. The floors are made more durable by having pieces of broken pottery beaten into the surface and patterns of cowries are sometimes inserted. The walls may be smeared with red earth mixed with *dafara* [Hausa, a particular vegetable juice] which prevents vermin from ascending to the lofts where property is stored.[5]

Throughout the area there has been the usual dispersal of settlement incident to shifting cultivation. Formerly, Kagoro and Moroa most notably maintained inaccessible hill-top villages protected by spiny euphorbia ("cactus") hedges, and Kagoma (probably also Kaje and Jaba) had fortified hill-top retreats; but these appear largely to have been abandoned under British Administration.

(iii) *Dress, Adornment and Tribal Markings*

The unique article of dress which defines the Katab Group is the mushroom-shaped "lumbar ornament" worn by married women,[4] called *oyuan* or *oyam* by Meek, *kunnok* by W. M. Hynes. The earliest available photographs of it are those taken by Tremearne among Kaje and Kagoro (*c.* 1909) in *Tailed Head-Hunters of Nigeria*. Comparison of these (or Temple's descriptions) with those of Meek some twenty years later reveals a striking change, from a thick wad of palm-fibre bound in the form of a blunt truncated cone, to a still bulkier article, now woven of fibre in the form of a mushroom, hung by the "stem" from a cord about the waist.[6] The remarkable thing is that changes in style seem to have affected all tribal sections of the Katab Group about equally; furthermore there seems to have been at no time any distinction in dress according to generation.[6] Bunches of leaves are worn in addition to the *oyam*.

[3] Superficial comparison with a vocabulary of Afusare shows, similarly, a clear though slight connection with both Kaje and Kagoro. M. G. Smith remarks that a Kagoro acquaintance on his first trip to Jos was able to converse with Afusare there. Greenberg, in a personal communication, stresses the interrelationship among Kaje, Irigwe, and Afusare.

[5] The Irigwe alone among their neighbours have adopted from the Katab peoples this style of house, but they, like Ataka and Kagoro, do not use it to the exclusion of the ordinary small round house.

[4] Kagoma women excepted; there is no information about Kaninkon.

[6] A possible clue to the form taken by the *oyam* in recent times is a style common in the western (nearest) sector of the Birom tribe (the vicinity of Hoe): women of that area wear a circular tray of palm-fibre, but suspended from the edge rather than from the centre. Connections between the Birom of this area and their Katab neighbours have already been noted.

[6] At the present time, there are certain major differences which effectively set apart the women of one tribe from those of another: the absence or presence, and amount, of white beadwork, the diameter of the flat tray, and the length of the "stem," among the more prominent. According to Meek, the *oyam* is "frequently smeared" with red ochre: to-day the practice appears to be universal.

Women of all sections of the Katab tribe also wear a stud or plug (about half-an-inch in diameter and length) in the upper lip. This is not an uncommon feature in Nigeria, but is not found among immediately adjacent peoples, so far as can be determined, and so effectively sets off members of the Katab Group from their neighbours all around.

As distinctive as the *oyam*, though surprisingly neglected by Meek in his definition of the Katab culture-complex, is the massive head-board or tray on which women of the Katab Group carry their loads: this is of unusual size, often a yard long and half as wide, and ovoid (or an elongated octagon) in shape: it is carved of a light-weight wood, flat, with a low rim, sometimes decorated with incised geometrical (rarely, stylized but realistic animal) figures, and invariably stained with red ochre. Meek notes that among the Katab proper a mother delivers her child on her head-board which "thereafter bears a semi-sacred character." The precise distribution of this article cannot be determined, but it does not appear to be used outside the area now occupied by the Katab Group.[7]

The dress of men of the Katab Group does not seem to be distinctive in any particular detail. The traditional garb appears to have been a skin loin-covering, and elders were distinguished by a skin across the shoulders. To-day, cloth is commonly used in place of skin; Hausa-Fulani caps, particularly the *fula*, and gowns, even the *riga*, may be worn by elders in civil occupations. But the priests maintain traditional styles, and all cloth is cast off at religious observances. There is some evidence that certain members of the Group,[8] if not all, wear the penis-sheath—an item virtually universal among tribes immediately to the east and south, in Plateau Province, though apparently not found in historic times westward in Nigeria.

Tribal marks of the same pattern are worn by Katab proper, Ataka, Ikulu, Kagoro, Kaje, Kamantan, and Moroa: for a man, these consist of 41 vertical scars across the forehead, nine on each cheek, and a fringe of 24 tiny cuts along the edge of the jaw; they are similar for a woman, but number 55, 17, and 26 respectively. In addition women receive intricate markings on chest, abdomen, and back. According to Meek (1931) "boys commonly refuse to be marked" to-day; the position as regards women is not clearly stated, but adult women attending the Kafanchan market in 1949–50 with very few exceptions had the markings described. There is no clear information regarding the markings used, if any, by Jaba, Kachichere, Kagoma, and Kaninkon. Early investigators ascribe the invention of these marks to the Katab proper.

(iv) *Social Organization: Marriage Customs*

Katab practices do not clearly distinguish the members of the Group from certain of their neighbours (especially the peoples of the Kauru hills, the Chawai, Irigwe, Kadara, even—according to D. A. Percival—the Shuwalbe and Buli tribes of Fulani in the area, among others); but the practices outlined below are apparently universal among members of the Group, with the possible exception of Kaninkon, about whom no information is available.

(*a*) *Secondary Marriage Constituting Serial Polyandry:* A virgin goes to live as a wife with a man who has made customary payments and performed farm-labour for her parents. After a period fixed by public opinion as decorous, she may leave her first (primary) husband to live with another man, who has secretly won her favour and secured by payments to her parents rights over children which she may bear him: she is, thus, his wife in every sense, but her primary marriage has not been dissolved, and she may, in due course, return to her primary husband. In theory, she may add indefinitely to the number of her husbands, circulating among them, living with each in turn for as long as she chooses (but never less than the fixed period); in practice, however, the number is usually small, and a woman may

[7] Wooden head-trays are used elsewhere, most notably by near neighbours of the Katab peoples on the High Plateau, but patterns differ radically from the Katab.

[8] Namely, Katab proper, according to Meek in *Northern Tribes*, though he fails to mention the subject in *Tribal Studies*, Moroa, according to Temple, and Kaje, according to Reynolds.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGORO

co-operative society, the women's friendly societies of the senior mission of the district, and the beer-brewing groups among pagan women, though in what respects the last is a new development is not stated.

Land Tenure: Cole states that "breakdown to individual tenure" has proceeded—by implication since Administration—even further among Kagoro than among Katab, a conclusion difficult to defend. In fact, the number of adult males per compound (1.6) is smaller than among Katab proper,[80] but it is not clear that this situation is entirely new. Cole notes that in pre-British times it was customary for a clan, lineage or domestic unit "to farm lands in several widely dispersed areas and not in one compact bloc." It would not be surprising if, under these circumstances, the size of the domestic unit had decreased[81] since Administration, but the facts are virtually impossible to establish on the basis of available information, and Cole himself states that the figure for adult males per compound has remained stationary as far back as the records show it (to 1939 only). More important, it would appear that land is normally as much clan property as ever, but, that where clan rights over land have been curtailed in any respect, it is the power of the civil heads, both in the Village-areas and in the District, not the power of the individual, that has grown correspondingly.

It is noteworthy, however, that traditionally the marshlands of Kagoro Independent District were, as Smith observes, *res nullius*, and remained so until 1946. Coco yam and *tumuku* (Hausa) were until that time the main crops, but the introduction of rice in 1941 and its development as a cash crop has given marsh plots a new significance. It was said in 1950 that all marshland was under cultivation. Marsh plots and the crops grown on them are individually owned, but as no case of inheritance has come before the courts, it cannot be said definitely what rights, if any, over marsh plots may accrue to lineages and clans in time.

Miscellaneous: Pig-rearing is an important activity, said to have been introduced a generation ago largely as a result of the efforts of the senior mission in the area, and is approached only by rice-growing as a source of income to the District. Wages may be earned by men in the employ of the missions, the railway, the mining companies in the general area, the army, and the Native Authority.

The principle expenditures of cash, according to Smith, are for meat, most household utensils and metal goods, salt, kerosene, soap, and clothing;[82] to this list tax may be added. Pots are generally bought direct from Ataka potters of Moroa District; for the remainder of the goods listed Kagoro depend on the trading community in the District.

Crafts in the District seem to be limited to basketry, including the manufacture of the *oyam*, by women; house-building, mat-making, and a little woodwork (most notably the woman's headboard) by men.[83]

Regarding "the traditional economy" in general, Smith concludes that no great changes have as yet taken place.

The Life Cycle

Birth

Tremearne reports that among Kagoro there is no "festivity" at the birth of a child, but that a gift is presented to the mother's father, "otherwise the grandfather owns" the child. Apart from these, Tremearne apparently found it impossible to make generalizations: of various accounts which he received he reports only one, that some Kagoro burn the umbilical cord when it is dropped, the ashes are mixed with grease and "rubbed on the child's head to harden it." According to

[80] Cf. discussion of Kagoro domestic unit, pp. 91–2 above.

[81] Cf. contrasting materials produced by Cole from among Jaba of Kwoi (Jaba Independent District), and Jaba of Kachia District, cited below.

[82] Cloth is more common to-day than formerly, but in general Kagoro conform to traditional standards in dress, and the Ankwei ban on cloth at ritual performances appears still to hold.

[83] In this connection Smith notes: "European-type carpentry providing domestic furniture has been assimilated by Kagoro."

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

when the deceased *gado* is said to return to the *abwai* hut: beer drinking and dancing take place on alternate days; every spirit voice is heard, and two masked dancers, also described by Reynolds as "dodone," both mute, appear—one, *kusak* (Hausa, *kajinjiri*), who dances with the women of the community, and the other, *daniet*, who parades about at night in a ponderous leaf-covered frame of bamboo. During this entire period, male clothing is restricted to a plaited raphia penis-sheath. Though it has been suggested that neck-cords or *iswandik* are intended to remind women of their marital obligations, and serve to restrain them from contracting new secondary marriages, and though, as has been noted, sexual relations between a man and his brothers' wives is a ritual offence, Reynolds is still of the opinion that *aswa* is a period of sexual licence in the community. At the end of the period of celebration, each wife in the village gives the gathering of cult members a final pot of beer, around the neck of which her *iswandik* is fastened.[122]

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The general character of indigenous Kaje religion will be apparent in the above account of rituals and other practices associated with the life cycle. Few additional details are available, and these add little to the picture.

When the rains are overdue, the elders of the clan or tribal section meet at the local "rain 'tsafi' place," where the *atiyinhwap* performs a rain-making rite. Failure of this rite in past times brought a league of *atiyinhwap* of Banewhan, Batadon, and Baimbin to "inform" the *atiyinhwap* of Baiduan, who would perform similar rites on behalf of the whole tribe. For a number of years, however, only the *atiyinhwap* of Baimbin has persisted in carrying out these rites.

Acha-sowing rites, too, have fallen into disuse, apparently, except among Baimbin. If a trial sowing of mixed seed of the *atiyinhwap* sprouts satisfactorily, general sowing commences immediately; if not, *atiyinhwap* solicits offerings, presides over a feast of elders, and finally prays over the ground.

Acha harvest rites, however, are still commonly practised throughout Kaje, according to Reynolds. These begin much like the rain rites, with the *atiyinhwap* spreading acha paste on the stone at the "rain-shrine": from the rain-shrine, however, he retires to his compound, where he applies paste to the huts, to the floor and walls of his own hut, and finally to his bed. Similar rites are performed in every compound early the next morning, when the compound head selects "a sensible youth who would first spread the paste on an old hoe and then on the grave of his grandfather." Thereafter, huts and cornbins are treated, the nearest cross-roads, and the waterhole; and the head of the compound is given paste to eat, and calls on God and his ancestors to bless them. The youth then eats some of the paste and divides the remainder between members of the compound. Only when these rites are performed can the new acha be used in the regular way as food.

The sanctions against murder, violence between groups or even within the minimal lineage and incest, are traditionally of a supernatural sort, and such crimes might be expunged by ritual purifications: for example, a murderer was expelled to Kagoma, where he served the senior ritual head there as a slave, in effect, for a year; he then retired to Kurmin Bi, where the senior Kaje *atiyinhwap* performed a rite readmitting him to the general Kaje community; he then underwent further rituals in his own village.[123]

Theft and protracted debt were punished by fines; but the offended and offender were alike subject to oaths and ordeals credited with supernatural sanctions: these were administered by the priests and some are done still.

[122] On the basis of available materials it is impossible to comment on the apparent discrepancy between Meek's and Reynolds' accounts: Meek understood that this or a nearly identical celebration was recurrent at two- or three-year intervals; cf. Katab, farther above.

[123] Rape and adultery appear to have been left up to the offended party to deal with: the death of the offender ended the matter.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje
Jaba

Jaba country is an extension of the Kachichere Plateau of Zangon Katab, Kagoro, Moroa and Jema'a Districts, described by Temple as undulating, becoming rugged to the south with thick belts of kurmi in the north. It is watered on the north by the headwaters of the Gurara River, and there are innumerable streams throughout the district which become considerable torrents in the wet season. The soil on the lower level is a rich loam and marshy. 133

The fragmentary traditions ascribed to Jaba suggest an origin in the north, and the gist of Lungu tradition, collected by Hyne (1916) and summarized by Mathews, seems to be that at the time of Moslem expansion in this area (*c.* 1840) eastern Kachia District was the main centre of Jaba settlement, the implication being that the region now designated Jaba Independent (Kwoi) District was occupied only thereafter, under Moslem pressure, by Jaba resisting the Moslem advance (see also below). 173

Economy

Jaba are outstanding as growers of ginger which seems to have been grown in the area at the time of the first reported contact with Europeans, early in this century. Normally their crop—which is of a species not widely valued and not cured in a manner generally acceptable to world-market consumers—is disposed of locally to Hausa and Kanuri traders, who retail it chiefly at the great Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri) markets. Administration has attempted to " improve " the local product with an eye to the European market, and to introduce the crop among the neighbouring tribes (Kadara, Kaje, Ikulu and others), while at the same time improving market facilities. It is probably too early to estimate the value of these efforts, however. 249

Otherwise, available details suggest that the economy of Jaba does not differ markedly from that of, say, Katab proper, though Jaba of Kachia are in some respects more conservative. The Jaba of Kwoi are more progressive than the Kagoro, although less favourably situated, particularly as regards rail and motor road. Differences of population density (cf. 19 in Kachia with 79 in Jaba Independent District) and in the political situation are at once symptomatic and the cause of the difference in attitudes. 433

As already noted, Jaba of Kwoi were committed to resistance against the Fulani Emirs, while Jaba of Kachia value peace more highly, and the *status quo* which, at peace, they were paradoxically able to preserve under Moslem rule. Endemic warfare, as Cole points out, must have led to the prudent scattering of family holdings in land (cf. Kagoro), in Jaba Independent District, which did not happen in Kachia. The result has been that, as Cole says, the Jaba Kwoi are " a poverty stricken people " compared with Kachia, " who can run to only one wife apiece as a normal rule whereas they [the Kachia Jaba] can run to four or five—even ten on occasions."[194] The Jaba Kwoi youths are " an irresponsible lot " in the eyes of Kachia Jaba, " who go running off to the mines to make money and do not look after their lands properly," while their own youths stay at home and become good farmers on the family land. 648 511

Dress

In dress women generally conform to Katab norms, but Meek indicates that in Kwoi Town women had taken to wearing cloth garments. Tremearne states that Jaba males commonly wore loincloths, rather than skins (cf. Kagoro), even at the outset of contact, though there is an indication that skin was worn on ritual occasions. In facial markings, as in housing, Jaba follow Katab patterns. 291

[194] Whether the exaggeration is Cole's or Jaba informants' is not clear; the only available clearly relevant figures (Barnicot, 1933) show 114 adult males, 123 adult females at Kwaturu in Kachia.

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
KAGOMA

Linguistically, Kagoma are impossible to classify with any certainty: the view has been expressed that they are connected, perhaps distantly, with Katab, but it appears that only a few words are available for comparison. On the basis of these it is perhaps far-fetched to suggest that Kagoma language may be more closely related to the Jaba than to the more typical languages of the Katab Group, such as Kaje or Katab, but such a conclusion would not be unexepected, in view of the proximity of the two peoples.

Social Organization

Kagoma are said to have capitulated early to the Fulani, though they appear to have revolted frequently against Moslem exactions, perhaps because of their very poverty and the rugged character of their environment. Villages were commonly perched upon the inselberg formations which characterize the area, and so were relatively easy to defend, but at the same time easy to besiege and difficult to flee from when their defences were pierced, so that the Fulani were able from time to time to decimate the population of the area.

In times of peace the individual villages dealt directly with the Moslem District head; under Administration this relationship has been preserved in its essentials. Kagoma have, nevertheless, been administered in various ways, originally as a separate District, but since 1916 first as a joint District with a large section of the Kaje now in Zaria Province, to which Yeskwa were subsequently attached and, finally, since the transfer of Kaje north of Kafanchan to Zangon Katab District of Zaria in 1934, with Yeskwa alone.

Very little is known of the organization of Kagoma, apart from the facts set down by Mathews that each village has both a chief (*kpob*) and a priest (*gbuboga*). According to Mathews, the village head is said to be an indigenous institution, selected from the collateral lines of one particular family by a general meeting of elders (*bukwana*) and adults, including those from hamlets which have sprung from the parent village concerned. The man chosen will not necessarily be an old man, but he should have reached man's estate and be able to "acquit himself properly." In former times he could relinquish office with the consent of the elders when he felt that he was getting past his work. "The priest has a different status and is undoubtedly an earlier conception. He chooses his own successor (a younger brother or son), but this is his own business and not that of the elders though they could probably bring the force of public opinion to bear. The idea of a chief and priest as separate entities is now ingrained; even now the priest has much more real power than the chief, who will act only on the advice of the council of elders."

Main Cultural Features

Ames, writing of Kagoma cultural affiliations, for the most part merely summarizes Temple's earlier account, stating that "their birth, marriage and burial customs are similar to those of the Kaje-Jaba-Katab Group of tribes," more particularly the Jaba, it would appear.[139] Their "dodo" cult, which Ames tends to accept as a relatively recent innovation, bears a distinct resemblance to the Kaje *obwai*. In their house-building, and also their tribal marking, Kagoma conform to general Katab norms: just as the tribal marks seem to have spread over the entire region from a Katab or Kaje centre, Tremearne was of the opinion that the distinctive Katab house-type must have originated in Kaje or Kagoma, for here he found it universally used, in contrast with, say, practice in Kagoro and Moroa Districts.

The most notable known difference between Kagoma and typical tribes of the Katab Group lies in the fact that Kagoma women do not wear the *oyam* in any form (unless they have adopted it in recent years); neither do they wear leaves. Temple describes their attire as a "loincloth," and Tremearne as "a little strip of cloth."

[139] Another feature mentioned by Ames brings to mind Jaba: "They venerate a Supreme God who is connected with the sun."

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Kagoma

It has been suggested that they formed part of a large group which migrated from the north-west of Zaria, which includes the Kagoro, Attakka, Jaba, Kaje, Kaura and Moroa, to whom they show a certain affinity in language, customs and dress. 101

They speak a dialect of their own, and the majority know Haussa also. 197 191

Their Chief, "Dem," pointed out to Osuman, first Emir of Jemaa, the desirability of the site, and voluntarily paid tribute to Zaria through Jemaa. Circ. 1859 A.D. they ceased to pay, and a large proportion of the population were burnt out in caves in the resulting punitive expedition. Small raids continued until 1894, when they were finally subdued by the Filane and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emir of Jemaa, to whom the Kagoma District head is now responsible. 648 175

The two acknowledged crimes were murder and theft. A murderer was required to give a bull to the bereaved family, whilst a thief was detained until his relatives paid a horse to the Sarkin Jemaa and two goats to his captors. 682 685

They are excellent agriculturists. Boys are given miniature hoes at the age of three years old. 241 524

They are of good physique. 192

The men wear a triangular-shaped leather loin-covering, or a skin that hangs from the shoulder, and bind their beards with grass. They carry wooden swords. 291

Virgins wear an apron of green strings ornamented with cowries and brass bells. Married women wear a loin-cloth. 291 301

Nearly all the villages are situated on the top of the hills, amongst almost inaccessible rocks. The huts are of mud, surmounted by conical-shaped grass roofs. The interior is divided into three partitions by means of mud-arches projecting from the wall.* 361 342

A girl may be betrothed before her birth, the *fiancé* undertaking that should the unborn babe prove to be a boy he will be its friend all through life. Such an arrangement is, however, of rare occurrence, the custom being for a girl to be engaged to the first man who gives her parents a fowl and bespeaks her after her birth. The suitor further gives her father a hoe or 2,000 cowries every year, until the girl has arrived at marriageable age at about ten years; as the marriage day approaches he gives the bride's father a further present of five chickens. On the day itself, six of his boy friends enter her parents' house, where she is hidden amongst the women, find and capture her, and take her to one of the groom's female relations. They return at night, give the custodian a chicken and take the bride to the groom's house, where he is awaiting her with three male friends who proceed to address the young pair on the duties 584 585

* *Vide* Jaba, p. 163.

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

342 a hollow groove where a mat or shield might be fixed. Within the hall is a bigger apartment, with a mud shelf over the inner doorway, and with a low wooden bed of palm fronds or bamboo on either side—one for the wife, the other for her family. The inner walls are only some three or four feet high and are either made of red mud or mud blackened with charcoal. Sticks or horns are stuck in them as pegs and the women use low wooden stools. Another double doorway leads to an inner chamber, which is much higher and contains a mud granary on little legs. There is a circular passage-way round this, which is sometimes ceilinged and above which is an attic. The granary is always to the south and the roof is supported by bamboo poles; an egg or bottle is commonly put at the apex for luck. From the outside the huts appear to be round in shape, with the addition of the low oblong verandah roof. The floors, and sometimes the whole compound, are trampled hard, and bits of shard or even cowries are added for ornament. Outside the entrance palm logs, some six feet in length, are let into the ground perpendicularly, and are used as palaver centres.

142 The Kagoro are small in stature, the men slim and well built, the women ungainly. As a race they are debased by excessive drinking. Their heads are somewhat conical in shape, as infants' heads are massaged to prevent their becoming broad, like those of load-carriers whom they despise.

Women have their heads shaved from the time they are six years old, and at the age of seven or eight their lips are pierced for the reception of small wooden plugs about one inch in diameter and three-quarters of an inch in depth. These are, however, not universally worn. Young girls wear a loose girdle of native string, which is exchanged for a bunch of leaves in front and a thick stem of plaited palm fibre with a broad base behind, hung from two strings. This is a symbol of marriage, though very old women may discard it in favour of leaves. Widows are obliged to exchange it for leaves during the period of mourning, which lasts from ten to sixty days, when they must also allow their hair to grow and plaster their bodies with red earth and grease.

Beads and horse-hair are made into necklaces, beads and beans into finger-rings. Open brass bracelets and ear-rings of blue glass beads, string or sticks, are worn by both sexes, the latter only in a man's left ear. Old women sometimes wear an iron band round the calf of the leg, while men wear light iron chains round their necks and waists, especially when they are courting.

Both sexes smear their bodies with red earth, and for feasts men habitually coat their legs with it to the knee, while women add a black stripe an inch wide from forehead to navel, and sometimes an additional narrow line on both sides. These lines may

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kagoro

be divided into three, but otherwise there is no variation. The pigment used is from the unripe kernel of the gaude (*Gardenia thumbergia*). The face is, moreover, ornamented with beads, tin or coloured earth. They seldom wash, if ever. Men wear triangular tanned leather loin-coverings, or a skin which hangs from one shoulder to the back of the knee, the front legs being tied together loosely so that its owner may easily shift it to protect the exposed side of his body. This is usually made of goat-skin on which the hair is left. Hats made of plaited palm-fibres are also frequently worn. A cape made of palm leaves is used by both sexes as a protection against rain. None but Chiefs under Government wear cloth, and these have Haussa tobes.

Youths generally shave their heads, except for a broad ridge of hair from the forehead to the nape of the neck. No shaving is done during harvest time, but at other seasons the men from time to time shave off their moustaches, but usually wear a beard.

The tribal marks are the same for both sexes and are inflicted at certain epochs in their lives—the boys have their foreheads scarified when they are able to hoe. A girl has her chest and back marked on reaching marriageable age, and her forehead when she goes to her husband. In old days the marks consisted of irregular cuts on the forehead only, but two generations ago a skilful Katab operator invented a pattern which has been adopted by Kagoro, Attaka, Moroa and Kajji, as well as by his own people. It consists of numerous short perpendicular cuts along the forehead from ear to ear, and thirteen or more long slanting lines on each cheek from ear to chin. The incisions are painted with soot.

The customs of the above-mentioned neighbouring tribes have many points of similarity, and the language of the Kagoro is similar to that of the Attakka and Moroa, and resembles that of the Katab and Kajji. Haussa is spoken by a few individuals only.

It has been suggested that, in common with the Attakka, the Kagoro own Bauchi as their country of origin, that a long while ago they migrated to Nimbia—in South Nassarawa—and thence to their present location. In matters of dress, tribal marks, architecture, customs and language they show, however, obvious affinity to the Katab and Kajji tribes in the north-west, who trace their migrations from the north.

They have always retained their independence, though they suffered defeats at the hands of the Kajji and from the Filane of Jemaa. They would, however, probably have been conquered by the latter had not a Filane mallam foreseen in a dream that whoever should subjugate them would die.

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

was then allowed to return to his village on giving an expiatory feast to the Elders, but might neither eat nor drink with other men for the rest of his life. 682

In a case of adultery the injured man could demand the death of both the guilty parties, otherwise they were banished for life, being treated as dogs and fed with scraps out of broken vessels until they were drummed out of the place by old women. Oath was taken by jumping forwards and backwards over a sword, an arrow, a skull, and the leaf of the male shea-butter tree. 684 695

Inheritance was to the male heirs in the following order: Sons, brothers, nephews, grand-children—failing these to the Chief. It was, however, common for a man to give his property away in his life-time, when he became a pensioner to the recipient. A brother or son inherited the deceased's widows, but with that exception a man might not marry the widow of any member of his clan. 428 [433]

In appearance the Kaje is slim and of fair physique, he is well built, but his extreme drunkenness has left a mark on the skull formation. 142 273

The men wear a short gown or leather loin-cloth and the youths plait their hair and ornament it with beads. The women shave their heads and wear a leather string round the waist to which is attached a wide cone with a wooden base. That of a Chief's daughter is bound with copper wire and the base is adorned with beads—the poorer women bind it with bamboo. When working on their farms this is discarded and the married women each morning pluck a wisp of vetch, some two feet long, and tuck it under the waist-belt leaving six inches hanging in front, while the long end is pulled back between the thighs so that it sticks out like a tail. Girls wear a small apron of cowrie shells. In Zaria the women wear wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips. 291 302 [554] 291 [301]

They are excellent farmers and breeders of live-stock. They manure the ground with dung from goats and fowls, and ashes. They are keen hunters (possessing a few horses), and are expert highway robbers, but they respect any property left on the road if a leaf of the male shea-butter tree has been placed upon it. 241 231 224 674

Their arms are the bow and arrow. 911

They live in compounds surrounded by high cactus hedges. The house and granary are in one, the former being entered through a low narrow verandah, which leads into a sort of hall, where pots are stored, and which runs along the whole width of the house. Within this is a bigger sleeping apartment, and within again a circular passage sometimes roofed with an attic above, enclosing the corn-bin. Between each room is a double doorway two and a half to three feet in height, in the grooves of which a mat or shield could be placed. The houses are of mud and the roofs [36] 342

3:Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38

[p. 222]

KATAB.

101 161 The Katab are situated in the Kauru District in the south-west of Zaria Emirate, where they occupy an area of some 200 square miles with a population of 5,000; they have also one township over the border in Nassarawa Province.

101 619 304 They are probably indigenous to their district. They show a certain affinity to the Kagoro and kindred tribes, who have adopted the Katab tribal marks, invented only two generations ago by a skilful operator, which consist of numerous short perpendicular cuts along the forehead from ear to ear and thirteen or more long slanting lines on each cheek from ear to chin. The incisions are painted with soot.

197 Their language, too, resembles that of the Kagoro, Kaje, Attakka and Moroa, and their customs are similar.

● 891 301 302 304 The women wear a bunch of leaves in front, and a conical shaped piece of bamboo, covered with string and decorated with beads and brass behind. They place wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips and shave their heads.

241 694 852 The Katab are good agriculturalists and breed a considerable quantity of live-stock. They are great highwaymen, and the first drop of water that an infant drinks is stolen, that he may be thus early initiated in the craft.

771 823 They are a pagan people, with belief in sorcery. There is a rock named Dutsin Kerrima in Nassarawa Province, which they declare becomes luminous every Sunday and Friday night, when white cattle are seen on the summit, herded by a white Filane girl.

827 293 They are head hunters and drink heavily.